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ABSTRACT

Prepared as part of the Turko-Danish Fairytale Project conducted to uncover universal, cross-cultural features in readers' response to literature, this paper reports on a pilot study to determine which three out of nine preselected fairy tales would elicit the most faceted, legitimate response from a population of Danish readers. After explaining the selection of readers, the paper notes the questions used to evoke responses from the readers about the tales and subjects. Answers to a "highly modified" form of content analysis were used to isolate that one tale from each grouping--Danish, Turkish, and outside--that elicited the broadest spontaneous response. The discussion that follows looks at the honesty of the answers, at illegitimate answers (i.e., those that contain erroneous information), and at the effect of the readers comparing the three stories in each group on the answers given. The effects of prereading instructions, classroom discussions of the tales, class makeup, and the structure of the questions themselves on the answers given are also considered. The paper concludes with discussions of the expectations of Danish readers, who are accustomed to the style of Hans Christian Anderson, when perusing fairy tales from other sources, and of the priorities they established when rating Danish, Turkish, and outside fairy tales. (RBW)

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# FAIRYTALE

## An Interdisciplinary Turco-Danish Study of the Collective v. the Individual Nature of the Response to Literature

**Report No.** 8

**Title:** REPORT ON THE SELECTION PROCEDURE BASED ON READERS' RESPONSES TO THE ORIGINAL NINE TALES IN DENMARK

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## I.0 PURPOSE

The study described here is the first trial experiment mentioned in Report 5, 6-7. The present report is concerned only with the selection procedure as undertaken in Denmark, and the following report, no. 9, will deal with the selection study in Turkey.

The very fact that the project tries to find features which are universal and cross-cultural in the experience of literature (Report no. 1, 1-3) and that we have to use only three tales to do so, demand that we must be sure that the tales used in the main experiment will actually shed as much light on aspects of the experience of literature as possible.

The aim of the present study was therefore - out of the original nine tales - to identify the three ones which elicited the most facetted, legitimate responses in view of the overall purpose of the experiment, or, at the very least, to pinpoint the tales which were clearly useless from our point of view, e.g. because the response to them was so negative that they might have an adverse, or distorting effect on the readers' responses in the main part of the experiment. Based on the responses in the selection round,each national team was to draw up a list of the tales in order of priority independent of the other team (Report 5, 6-7). These national lists should then be compared in order to select the tale best suited for the future work in the project from each of the three groups of tales (viz., a "Turkish" group, a "Danish" group, and an "Outside group" of which variants were found in both countries, but where the actual variant was taken from a third country to minimise any cultural bias) (Report 5, 5-6).

### I.1 Reservations

As envisioned in Report 5, 6-7, and described in more detail in Report 7, the actual texts at this stage were unrevised translations (mostly) from English. Accordingly, the texts that have been used in the present selection study are only up to a point, the ones that are to be used in the main part of the study - and the English versions (viz., translations) of them are reprinted in Report no. 7.

The responses charted at this stage are therefore only "indicative" and cannot be used for future work in the project, even though there is no doubt that they offer some good pointers. In addition, the responses in the present selection study are heavily influenced by the fact that they are based on not spontaneous responses to one tale, but on the experiences of three tales which are compared.

## II.0 PROCEDURE

In the main the procedure was as described in Report 5,p.7. Some modifications introduced to suit local conditions were discussed by Iven Reventlow and Cay Dollerup, and Carsten Rosenberg Hansen was notified of the plan.

The aim was to ensure that we got fairly brief answers which were manageable in terms of a full analysis and yet involved sufficiently many readers for us to be sure that the

number of potential responses was reasonably well covered, so that we were sure that we could identify the tale in each group which elicited the most facetted spontaneous response. From our previous experience we expected to get a satisfactory coverage from a group of c. 25 readers. (See e.g. Dollerup, Cay "Elementer og vurderinger i læsning af noveller", Meddelelser fra Dansklærerforeningen, nr. 1, 1970, 50-72; "Forsøget på objektivt at bestemme "spænding" i noveller", Tidsskrift för litteraturvetenskap, 2, 1974, 227-243; "On Reading Short Stories", Journal of Reading, vol. 14 (April 1971), 445-454.

## II.1 The Readers

For the selection study we chose "gymnasiaster", preferably from II g (average age 18), since this was the group we would use as the core group in the main experiment (Report 5, 8). In order to do so, we had to obtain permission from the teachers as well as the consent of the classes involved.

Accordingly, we contacted teachers of Danish at three gymnasier who then asked their classes if they would participate in the study. We promised, in advance, to tell about the purpose of the experiment when the data collecting was over, and furthermore, to inform the teachers and hence the classes, of the eventual outcome of the selection study.

The groups conformed in educational background and age. We had no wish to check on background variables. There were several reasons for this: (a) we could make no sound statistical analysis on such a small material and there was nothing in our plans which called for it, (b) a thorough charting of all imaginable background variables could not be undertaken before we had anything like a good questionnaire for charting background variables, (c) it might all too easily be interpreted as an attempt to circumvent the promise of anonymity to the readers, and hence affect their inclination to express themselves freely, and (d) it was extraneous to the study at this stage: we were only to identify the tale which elicited most facetted legitimate responses, and in principle we might have used any group of readers (old age pensioners, a cross-section of the population etc.): if there was anything to the initial hypothesis that there are universal features in the experience of literature, they must show somehow or other, independent of the readers actually used, provided the group is not marginal in the population as a whole.

## II.2 The Reading of the Texts

In order to get the most facetted picture of the response to the tales we had the readers in each group take home all three tales. We assumed this would get us more thorough readings than we would get if we allowed no time for thinking, and we could also make sure that even the slowest readers would have read all three tales so that they could answer all the questions within the span of time allotted.

Although it is known that experiences of literature are very "stable" and are rarely affected by unstructured discussions (see e.g. Hansson, Gunnar, Dikten och läsaren (Stockholm 1959)), we were aware that the students might discuss the tales with

one another. In order to keep check on this, a special question concerning such "extra-mural" discussions was inserted (Question 5, see Appendix 2). In order to make it impossible to discuss the tales in between classes, tales from two different groups were handed out to the pupils at the first two schools involved. Since the last group of texts was not ready until the very last days of school and the analyses of the previous protocols had revealed no trace of discussions between classes, the tales from the same group were handed out to two different classes.

We also took the precaution of having a pre-reading instruction (given in appendix 1) which was non-directive and did not indicate in what area we would ask questions.

## II.3 The Collecting of Data in Class

The three texts in each group were handed out in each class involved either by the teacher or Cay Dollerup, and the pre-reading instruction read out. Some days later, at some pre-determined day, Cay Dollerup would take over the class.

Now the instruction with the five questions was handed out and all readers were given 5 blank pages for answers (this instruction is given as appendix 2). The readers kept the texts for reference, and would sit as they normally did, usually with the tables arranged in the popular horse-shoe formation which permits of fairly little elbow-room.

The readers wrote down their answers to the questions, and the few questions they asked were answered out loud in class. At the beginning they were informed that they would have 35 minutes at their disposal, and 10 and 5 minutes before the end, they were told how much time was left to make sure that as many questions as possible were answered.

After the texts and the answers had been collected in a way which would make it easy to find out if there had been any cribbing, the last ten minutes were spent on telling about the purpose of the experiment with special emphasis on the theoretical framework.

The only comment or question made in all classes concerned the use of one sheet of paper per answer - no matter how short it was (obviously because many considered this a waste of paper).

## II.4 The Analysis

In order to safeguard against any potential "Rosenthal-effect", no responses on any of the three groups of tales were analysed until the responses from both classes involved had been collected.

### II.4.1 The Preliminary Check

Before proceeding to the analysis proper, all answers in each group were checked in order to find out if there were questions which had not been answered; readers who had failed to answer all questions were listed last for practical reasons.

At the same time there was a check to identify examples of cribbing, if any, since this might easily have taken place, given the cramped space. In one class which read the "Turkish" fairytales there was one protocol which obviously was a poor

copy of the one made by the neighbour. This protocol, has, accordingly, been left out altogether as having no intrinsic value. The inept style (with spelling errors and the like) in this protocol indicates that it may have been motivated by the wish to hand in something, since the student appears to have had problems in expressing him/herself. Containing only 9 statements (as opposed to 12 in the "original" one, and c. 2,000 in the whole sample), it is at all events unimportant. Apart from this there may be four more instances where specific parts of answers to one question may have been the outcome of copying/discussion: In the "Turkish" group, 6 and 7 are the only ones to mention that pidgeons are peace symbols, and 25 and 26 may also have agreed on two of the underlying symbols or symbolic patterns in Father and Pot - although the actual phrasing is so different that it may equally well be sheer coincidence. In the "Danish" group, 104 and 105 must have agreed that Girl was vulgar, as both use the fairly rare word "plat" about it. In view of the fact that the total number of statements is around 2,000, these four instances must be considered nil. Even if there were more, it should be stressed that readers whose response is otherwise individual, will only copy another's suggestion if it tallies with something which they feel is right but have somehow overlooked.

II.4.2 Description of and Comment on the Analysis

The purpose of the present study was to chart legitimate responses in such a way that they would unambiguously identify the one tale in each of the three groups which elicited the most facetted spontaneous response from readers. As has been shown respeatedly (e.g. Hansson, Gunnar, Dikt i profil (Scandinavian University Books 1964); Fredholm, Arne, "Gymnasiasters litteräre värderingskriterier", Svensklärarföreningens årsskrift, 1970, pp. 61-100), this spontaneous response does not uncover all facets of the experience behind it.

The point in the present context was therefore to find as many legitimate aspects of the responses on the tales involved, independent of how many readers had actually hit upon it and not to make a statistical analysis (see point II.1, above).

The method to cover this best is a highly modified form of content analysis: As the point of departure, we used the responses made by the readers. Following the definitions given by Wilson, James R., Responses of College Freshmen to Three Novels (Champaign 1966) p. 8 (when he calls them "responses"); and Purves, Alan C. and Victoria Rippere, Elements of Writing about a Literary Work: A Study of Response to Literature (Champaign 1968) p. 68, we have broken down most of all the responses into "statements", defined as the smallest unit carrying a single meaning; but, in the present context, only so that the picture is not blurred: clarity prevails over strictness of breakdown, i.e. some responses are given in a more complete form than one statement only.

In order to give the best coverage possible, we refrain from categorising the statements in terms of figures under the appropriate headings in the Purves' system.

This is prompted first and foremost by the fact that for the purposes of the present selection study we cannot use the broad umbrella terms set up by Purves: they would mean that e.g. all comments on Snake (p. 51) would be bracketed in various "interpretation" categories. We need clear statements to assess their exact content in relation to specific texts, in terms of legitimate variation, depth, etc.

The actual statements were also needed so that they could be related to specific responses in Turkey, to the theoretical framework, and for evaluating their legitimacy in terms of response. Secondly, a real, thoroughgoing "content analysis" would obscure important features, e.g. themes, which appear only in brief in the statements (Klingberg has once pointed out how an anti-clerical novel, subjected to content analysis, will appear to deal with something else, and show little trace of anti-clerical attitudes). Compared to these two objections, the last one, viz., that content analysis on the literary response seems to have a loss rate of something like 10% (see Purves, p. 48) is irrelevant.

Even though we have thus refrained from turning the statements into figures, but kept them at the level where their relevance can be better checked for our purposes, this does not imply that they are not edited: to get an overview over the statements, it has been necessary to assess or interpret what is actually written, and this explains why e.g. the statements "[Girl is best because] it is most reminiscent of a fairytale, and the others are too vulgar" (132), and the answer "Girl is the best one: a classic in a new version, full of suspense, and with a good ending. It follows the rules for fairytales ..." (133), appear - at least partially - as containing the same statements in the breakdown of the answers to Question I in the "Danish" group.

It has also been necessary to impose some kind of uniformity in the handling of the statements to make it easier to compare them. Thus "realistic" and its synonyms are listed under Formal features; and "a happy ending" uniformly as an Element, even though it might sometimes arguably be bracketed as part of the plot.

The headings are also highly modified ones, based on the responses first, and only secondarily to the Purves study.

The main aim has thus been to make for clarity, and ease of control in order to facilitate comparisons and assessments.

The following pages, contain the detailed breakdown in detail, and should thus be viewed as the documentation behind the Discussion which starts on p. 54.

Illegitimate statements, i.e. the statements which are erroneous either in relation to the texts or in other respects, are marked with an '§'.

Direct quotations are translated and given in quotation marks.

## III.0 DOCUMENTATION. THE BREAKDOWN OF THE ANSWERS

### III.1 THE TURKISH FAIRYTALES

#### III.1.2 The Turkish Texts

The Turkish texts had been translated into Danish in relay from English as described in Report No. 7, Chapter V.

They were FATHER OF SIX GIRLS (Faderen med de seks døtre), KELOGLAN GOES TO WED THE OGRESS (Keloglan drager ud for at gifte sig med Troldemutter), and THE TINY COOKING POT (Den lille gryde).

They had been typed out and duplicated.

#### III.1.3 The Readers

They were handed out at two schools, Skt. Jørgens Gymnasium and Rysensteen Gymnasium.

At Skt. Jørgens Gymnasium they were handed out on 10 March 1980 and the answers were collected on 17 March. The class comprised 1 boy and 10 girls, whose average age was 18. Their answers are complete, and are numbered 1-11 (Class A).

Two or three of the participants were not present when I gave the pre-reading instructions which was, accordingly, passed on indirectly. There is no indication this has affected answers.

At Rysensteen Gymnasium, the tales were handed out by the teacher who read out the pre-reading instruction on 12 March. I collected the answers on 21 March. Since two pupils had not read the fairytales, it was 6 boys and 16 girls who answered the questions. The average age was 17. 4 have not answered all questions: 2 readers have not answered question no. 5, one reader had failed to answer no. 3, and the last one had refrained from answering questions 3 and 4. As mentioned one set of answers in this class has been rejected (see p. 6). The remaining answers are numbered 12-32 (Class B).

During the class when the questions were answered there were two questions about how question 2 should be answered, and it was pointed out that it was open to three types of answer and purposely so to make it easier to tackle. There were several questions as to what was meant by "symbolic" - the problem being that some students had been taught about symbols in the "folkeskole" whereas others had not: the fact that this was the first year at the gymnasium apparently told. I stressed that we were interested in their reactions, and that they should answer it any way they liked, or just say that they did not know what it meant.

III.1.2 Did the readers discuss the fairytales ?

The last question the readers were asked ran: "Have you talked with others about the fairytales ? If so, I should be grateful if you would tell if you had changed your mind on any points and what they were."

In class A five readers (1,2,3,4,11) had not discussed the fairytales with others. Two added spontaneously that this would not have changed their minds anyway (1,11), whereas one (3) mentioned that if the fairytales had been used for literature classroom work, (s)he might have changed her/his mind on some points.

It appeared from the comments made by 6 others that they had only discussed whether they liked the fairytales or not - and all reported that this had not made themself change their mind, e.g. "Yes. We have, however, only talked about whether we liked them. We did not interpret them. The others I talked with liked the fairytales very much, but personally I did not fancy them, and I have not changed my mind."(10) Since it is explicitly mentioned several times that "the others" were either negatively or favourably inclined, it is also evident that these discussions have taken place only in small groups.

Only one reader (5) reported that (s)he had commented on anything but the most superficial preference, viz., on the use of the word "skide" ('have a crap').

In class B two readers did not answer the question (29, 32), while two others had discussed them, but without changing their minds on any points (14, 30). All others, a total of 17, had not discussed the fairytales. One of them proffered an explanation: "I do not think any of us knew we were supposed to have an attitude ("en mening") to them. We have just read them for fun ("som hyggelæsning"). When I read fairytales as a child, I did not try to interpret them, but contended myself with saying that it was "good", "sweet", or "sad"."

By and large, then, the fairytales have not been discussed much, and even when so, discussion was limited to superficial evaluative statements, or details.

There appears to be no obvious difference between classes A and C, and accordingly their protocols are analysed together.

III.1.4 Preferences

The first question the readers were to answer was "Which of the three fairytales was best ? Why ?"

Two readers abstained from giving preferences because they considered all three fairytales bad. One of them objected to the modernised language in what should be a fairytale (12), and the other one just disliked all of them (28).

The other thirty readers had no difficulties in identifying the fairytale they found best.

In so doing, only 4 readers compared all three fairytales, e.g. "I think the Keloglan-fairytale was best, partly because it had the right length (not too long or too short), and because the story was funny. The story about the pot was perhaps a bit short, but quite sweet and imaginative ("fantasifuld"). I do not fancy the story about the father, partly because it was too long, it was too modernised ( I prefer fairytales from the old days) and in many places the language was curious." (4; also comparisons by 13, 17, 27).

Four other readers compared two tales, viz., either Father and Keloglan: 3 readers (2,3, 11); or Father and Pot: 1 reader (10 - who classifies Keloglan as bad when answering question 5)

The remainder 22 readers stuck to explaining why they preferred one specific fairytale. 12 commented on Father only (1,6,7,8,9,16,21,22,23,24,25, 26). 6 stuck to Keloglan exclusively (5, 15, 18, 19, 20, 32). And 4 to Pot (13,14,. 29,30).

Popularity .

In absolute figures, Father was favoured by 16 readers (1,2,3,6,7,8,9,10, 11,16,21,22,23,24, 25,26). Keloglan was favoured by 9 (4,5,11,15,17,18,19,20, 32). And Pot by 5 readers (13,14,29,30,31).

Arguments

FATHER

Affective/evaluative/tonal qualities:

- it was funny: 3 readers (1,8,15)

Formal features:

- it had the right length, was dense, and without repetitions : 5 readers (2,6,7, 8,11)
- it was realistic: 1 reader (3).
- Negative. It was too long : 2 readers (4, 27)
- genre features: it had fairytale elements/it was a typical fairytale: 4 readers (3,23,24,25).

"Style" [ It is difficult to differentiate between the modern imagery (cigarettes) the blunt language ("have a crap"), and the actual narrative. So with caution]:

- the narrative was easy-flowing, up-to-date, well-written and funny: 3 readers (6,7,22).
- Negative. The language in a fairytale should not be modernised: 2 readers (4,12).

Characters (Elements):

- it was interesting that the protagonist was a girl : 6 readers (1,3,9,11,16,24) of whom two noted that she undergoes ordeals successfully (1,24).

Plot/Action:

- it was good, dense, interesting, exciting, with unexpected turns: 8 readers (1,2,3,8,10,23,24,25).

Themes:

- it dealt with love with a happy ending : 4 readers (1,23,25).
- the battle of wits or getting out tops: 6 readers (1,9,11,21,24,26).
- the role of the sexes: 5 readers (1,9,16,21,26) two of whom mentioned implicitly that it reflected on social norms (1,9).

Miscellaneous:

- it was more Danish than Keloglan: 1 reader (2)
- Negative. it was boring: 2 readers (17, 27)
- Negative. it was too imaginative ("fantasifuld"): 1 reader (27 )- but lumped with Keloglan

KÆLOGLAN

Affective/Evaluative/Tonal qualities:

- it was funny: 6 readers (4,15,16,18,19,20)
- Negative. It was too sanguinary or brutal for a fairytale: 2 readers(3,11).

Formal features:

- it had the right length: 1 reader (4).

Narrative style:

- it was the best narrated one: 1 reader (18).

Elements:

- the hedgehog was the ideal citizen who supports the freedom fighter: 1 reader (5).

Plot/Action:

- it describes many dangers (5).

Themes/Symbols:

- it is realistic in modern terms, insofar as few people today will help when you are in danger : 2 readers (5, 32).
- Negative. the theme is only that boastful claims are made good - and it is not nice to brag: 1 reader (11).

[NOTE: both suggestions here point to norms, albeit somewhat personal ones.]

Miscellaneous:

- Negative. it is too imaginative ("fantasifuld"):1 reader (27 - but lumped with Father)
- Negative. it is bad (10 - by question 5).

POT

Affective/Evaluative/Tonal qualities:

- it is "cute ("sød"): 3 readers (4,10,27).
- it is imaginative ("fantasifuld"): 1 reader (4).
- it is the most naive story: 1 reader (31).

Formal features:

it has the right length - as opposed to the other two : 1 reader (27).

Negative. it is too short: 1 reader (4).

it is a real fairytale : 2 readers (13,29).

Style (cf. comment made on Father):

"it was the one with the nicest/most decent ("pæneste") language; to me it sounds downright wrong to write that the young man must have a crap and even more wrong that he smokes cigarettes."(29 - involved with personal norms)

Themes:

one should not throw away things : 1 reader (14)

one should not scorn/scold people for bringing things home:1 reader(14).

poor people coming to riches is a good theme: 1 reader (30).

Miscellaneous:

Negative. it is boring : 1 reader (31).

III.1.5 Familiar or alien character of the fairytales

Question two was purposely phrased so that the readers could concentrate on the features they found it most easy to express themselves on, i.e. the most Danish fairytale, the most exotic one, or to discuss two or all three, viz. " Which fairytale did you find most Danish or exotic/alien ("fremmedartet")? How ? ".

It must be stressed that answers are based on question of degree. Thus most "Danish" usually only means something like "it reminds me more of Danish tales than the others". And conversely "alien/exotic" does not necessarily mean any more than "not very familiar".

In answering the question,

- two readers refrained from making distinctions, since they found that words (e.g. orders like "Go to the bathroom and then to bed" too alien to be discussed as Danish at all; they were sure all three tales were fairytales (11,18)).
- one reader (30), describing the theme in Father as the conflict between the sexes, failed to indicate whether this should be viewed as Danish or alien.
- one reader (3), pointing specifically to the word "coffeehouse", found all fairytales a bit exotic, since there are no "coffeehouses" in Denmark.
- three readers (1,5,7) did not find any of the fairytales alien.

"Most Danish"

Including the three readers who mentioned more than one fairytale as Danish (viz., Father and Pot (2); Father and Keloglan (26); Keloglan and Pot (4)) the fairytales appeared most Danish as follows:

Father: 3 readers (2, 25, 26)

Keloglan: 4 readers (4,6,20,26).

Pot: 15 readers (1,2,3,4,7,8,9,10,15,16,19,21,28,29,31).

Least Danish/Most alien/exotic

Conversely the fairytales appeared least Danish as follows (once more including the readers who considered more than one text most alien, viz. Father and Keloglan (14,29)):

Father: 7 readers (5,8,10,14,17,19,29)

Keloglan: 6 readers (9,13,14,25,29)

Pot : 4 readers (2,6,12,32).

Arguments

The arguments sometimes run counter to the choice actually made - but this only illustrates that we have to do with gradations. A breakdown runs as follows:

FATHER

"Danish"

Elements:

- it involves typical fairytale elements like 6 girls, but only the youngest one can help her father : 1 reader (6)
- it involves ordeals/trials : 2 readers (2,21)
- one point is to find out whether a girl is a real girl as in The Princess on the Pea [Hans Andersen] : 1 reader (21).

Themes:

- like Danish fairytales with princes/princesses, it is about the (poor) girl/boy making good and getting married to the prince/princess: 2 readers (2,4).
- the theme is that boys think they are better and more clever than girls, and this is not really the case : 1 reader ( 26)

Alien/Exotic

Elements:

- the names: 3 readers (14,25,29).
- it is modernised : 1 reader (4).
- it has words and actions we do not meet with in Danish fairytales ("have a crap","smoking cigarettes" ): 4 readers ( 8,10,11,14).
- a Danish fairytale would have 3 or 7 daughters instead of 6: 1 reader (10) §.
- "coffeehouse" is not Danish: 1 reader (3).

Plot/Action:

- the plot [unspecified]: 1 reader (29).

Norms:

- the idea that it is ignominous to have girls and that girls are worthless: 3 readers (5,17,19).

Miscellaneous:

- Contents [unspecified] : 1 reader (10).

KELOGLAN

Danish

Elements:

- reminiscent of Danish fairytales with trolls, difficulties, talking animals,
- a happy ending: 1 reader (4).
- some adults and children always want to have something when they are going to bed: 1 reader (26).

Alien /Exotic

Elements:

- names and words were exotic : 1 reader (14).
- "coffeehouse" is non-Danish: 1 reader (3).
- Danish fairytales rarely deal with trolls, witches, animals: 2 readers (21,25).§

Plot/Action:

- it is brutal, purposeless, and overdramatic: 2 readers (9,13).

POT

Danish

Language/Narrative Style

- the language was typically Danish : 1 reader (22)
- there are no "fremmedord", ie. words of foreign provenance: 1 reader (23) §
- the style is reminiscent of Danish fairytales/Hans Andersen: 4 readers (10, 21,22,28)
- there are typical Danish fairytale phrases, viz., "Once upon a time" : 1 reader (11), "forty days and nights": 1 reader (3) §.

Elements:

- there are no foreign names : 1 reader(15).
- it could take place anywhere since there are no specific geographical references: 2 readers (1,8)

[NOTE: both statements are clearly about Pot as opposed to the others]

- the traditional prince : 1 reader (2)
- the traditional ordeals : 1 reader (2)
- the traditional marriage: 1 reader (3)
- the pot reminded the readers of a fairytale: 3 readers (7,23,31 - the last one tells us which one: "it reminds me of a fairytale about a boy in a pigsty" (viz. Andersen's The Swineherd).

Themes:

- Poor girl gets prince: 2 readers (2,7).

Alien/Exotic

Elements

- "coffeehouse" : 1 reader (3) §
- pearls: 1 reader (6)
- market-place and wineleaves : 2 readers (12,24)
- spinning: 1 reader ( 24) §
- nurse: 1 reader (24) §
- prince walking past : 1 reader (32) §
- sultan: 4 readers (6, 24, 25, 32).

Miscellaneous:

Pot is most Danish /least un-Danish , BUT : 3 readers - too short (7) - boring (8) - only more so than the others because all are really exotic (16).

III.1.6 Symbols and symbolic elements in the fairytales

Question 3 ran: "Are the fairytales or things in them symbolic ? If so - in what way ?".

Two readers had not answered the question (30,31).

Three readers did not know what was meant by symbols etc. (4, 13,22).

Six readers answered "No"( 1,8,11,18,20,27).

Four did not know; they had not been trying to find anything symbolic, but read the fairytales as entertainment ( 3,9,12,17).

Of the remainder, some were very vague, but since they have referred to at least one thing, element, or idea which they have found symbolic, they are included in the breakdown below. Most answers were, of course, much better phrased and cogent thant the breakdown suggests. It will, however, be noted that the questions was very vaguely phrased so as to permit the readers to focus on anything they liked - and avoid whatever they preferred to avoid.

Breakdown

FATHER. A total of 9 readers have pointed to it (5,6,7,10,16,24,25,26,28). Of these 7 had listed it as the one they liked best.

Elements:

- the gold apple is a symbol of happiness: 1 reader (24).
- pidgeons are peace-symbols : 2 readers (6,7).
- the tasks are symbols of obstacles facing us in life: 1 reader (24).
- the girl has much in common with a modern hero :1 reader (5).

Thematic/Underlying Patterns/Symbols

- If you jeer at others, you'll end up by being punished: 1 reader (28).
- how girls can override difficulties if they really want to: 1 reader (26).
- the underdog, the suppressed girl is successful: 2 readers (10,16).
- it symbolises the role of the sexes: 4 readers (7,10,25,26) ; association to women's lib (10); pointing to old-fashioned norms in Denmark (7).

KELOGLAN: a total of 3 readers have pointed to it (5, 21, 25). One of them (5) had liked it best.

Elements:

- The ogres might be symbols of foreign countries and religions :1 reader(21).
- the character of Keloglan is that of a modern hero - he is courageous : 2 readers (5, 25).

Thematic/Underlying Patterns/Symbols:

- Men like to have something to brag about: 1 reader (25).
- it is relevant for today where people do not help others in distress, except the hedgehog which symbolises the ideal citizen who protects them:1 reader(5).

POT: A total of 10 readers have pointed to it (2,5,7,10,14,16,25,26, 29, 32). Two of them had liked the story best.

Elements:

- the pot is a symbol of things that are thrown away today, like old bottles: 1 reader (14).
- the pot is an agent bringing luck: 3 readers (5,26,29), viz. a bringer of luck (5), which knows what will happen (26) §, or a fairy who stands for a helpful human being (29).

Thematic/Underlying Patterns/Symbols:

- it is symbolic of wishfulfilment (happiness): 3 readers (14, 24, 32 ; 14 and 32 both quote the endings).
- it is symbolic of a poor-into-riches story: 4 readers (25,26; 10 and 24 phrase it vaguely).
- take from the rich and give to the poor: 1 reader (7)
- parents should not punish children for wrongdoings for something good may come from it : 1 reader (10).
- arduous work and zeal (spinning) are rewarded in the end: 1 reader (2).

GENERAL COMMENTS:

Six readers have made generalised comments.

- all fairytales - including these ones - have an underlying moral message: 2 readers (19,28).
- all three fairytales contain one lucky person: 1 reader (23),
- the good ones are happy at the end : 1 reader (15).
- the fairytales symbolise the conflict between good and bad: 1 reader (2).
-"I cannot find anything symbolic in these three fairytales. But I can find something they have in common: they all uphold the old structures of sex roles and society. - The rich are happy, and you cannot be happy if you are not a prince or something similar. Women are generally inferior to men ..."(1).

III.1.7 The question of "deeper meaning"

The fourth question ran: "Does one or more of the have any "deeper meaning" (do not waste time trying to explain what you understand by "deeper meaning") ? If so - what one ?"

It is important to stress that the Danish word "mening" is nebulous and may cover anything from content, over theme, lessen to intention.

One reader failed to answer the question (31).

One reader did not understand it (25).

Five readers answered "No", four of them flatly so (8,12,15,20), while one implicitly added that fairytales never had one (13).

Four readers had not been able to find it/had not tried/ had forgotten (3,9, 18, 24).

One claimed that all fairytales have a deeper meaning, but did not expand on the statement (23), and another that Father had one but failed to specify what it was (22).

Five readers specifically referred to what they had answered previously, especially to question 3 (7,10,16,19,28).

There are thus relatively few full-fledged answers to the question. Even so, two of the remaining 14 readers start by saying "No" then to proceed to give some specific example. Accordingly, their answers are included in the breakdown, which it is easy to split up in "It shows" and "Lessons"

Breakdown

FATHER: A total of three readers.

It shows

- the structured sex roles in the East (6)

Lessons/Moral

- women can themselves do something to change their role in society (26).
- one should show family loyalty (29).

KELOGLAN: A total of 4 readers.

It shows

- a happy ending (29)
- a parallel to the modern world where people are afraid to help : 2 readers (5,32).

Lessons/Moral

- a small animal (the hedgehog) can overcome a big one (the ogress) by cunning and craft (5).
- it pays to be ambitious (29).
- one should obey one's parents (29)

POT: A total of 8 readers.

It shows

- a happy ending (6)
- hopes that our dreams are fulfilled (4).
- how one helps others without being aware of it (21).
- that rich and poor may marry (26)
- poor people's luck (21)

Lessons /Moral

- riches and beauty are important (17)
- one should not throw out things. They may come to be useful (14). §
- we who are rich should help those who are poor (30). §

GENERALISED COMMENTS. Four readers made general statements.

The fairytales show

- that the rich are happy (1)
- women are suppressed/the traditional role of the sexes : 2 readers (1,2)
- a kind of hope that society may change (2)
- a hope that people's wishes are fulfilled (27 - with ref. to the ending lines of the fairytales).

The fairytales contain

- exhortations to the poor to get along in the world by being hardworking and active (Pot and Kelogian) (2).

- morals and messages to people about good and evil, and "truths" such as "gold and riches make one happy", and "Girls like jewelry" (Pot and Father) (11).

## III.2 THE DANISH FAIRYTALES

### III.2.1 The Danish Texts

The Danish texts were based on manuscripts of oral tales told to the folklorist Evald Tang Kristensen in the 1870ies and '80ies. The texts used in the present selection study had been slightly modernised as described in Report 7, Chapter V.6.1 + 6.2.

They were Per Smed's Whip (Per Smeds Pisk), The Girl and the Dog (Pigen og Hunden), and The Prince and the Tiger Child (Prinsen og Tigerbarnet).

The modernised versions had been typed and duplicated.

### III.2.2 The Readers

The tales were handed out at two schools, viz. Skt. Jørgens Gymnasium and Rysensteen Gymnasium.

At Skt. Jørgens Gymnasium I handed out the tales on 10 March and collected the answers on 17 March. There were 16 girls and 3 boys in this class, and their average age was 18. 5 readers have not answered all questions: 1 has not answered question 5, and 1 not no. 4. 1 had refrained from answering questions 4 and 5, and the last two readers had abstained from answering questions 3,4 and 5. The answers are numbered 101-119 (Class C).

In class I was asked for the the name of the brothers Grimm. In addition there was one question on how the word symbolic was to be understood. The answer proffered was the same given in class B (p. 7), viz. that it was up to the readers.

At Rysensteen Gymnasium the fairytales were handed out in class by the teacher who read out the pre-reading instruction on 12 March. I collected the answers on 28 March. 16 boys and 4 girls were present in class, and their average age was 18. 4 of those present handed in no comments at all - a fact which could easily be hidden while the texts were put together. On the instruction sheet one of them explained that (s)he had not received the fairytales. Of the remaining 16 answers, 3 are not complete: 1 reader has not answered questions 3,4, and 5, while the other 2 have not answered question 4. The answers are numbered 120-135 (Class D).

The only question in class concerned the meaning of "symbolic". Somehow or other the pupils in this class had got the impression that they were supposed to discuss the fairytales with me, but - with the possible exception of one class-feature mentioned below (p. 58 ), this has had no appreciable effect on their answers.

III.2.3 Did the readers discuss the fairytales ?

15 readers in class C answered the question as to whether they had discussed the fairytales (cp. p. 8 ).

Most of them, a total of 11, reported that they had not discussed the fairytales at all(3,4,5,6,7,8,19,10,11,12,14).

It appeared from the comments of the last 4 readers that although only one stressed that (s)he had not changed her/his mind (2), discussions had been superficial, concentrating on which one had been best (1), the fact that they had been funny (2), not suitable for children (13), and that discussion had not touched upon symbolism and interpretation (15).

In Class D, 15 participants answered the question. 6 of them had not discussed the fairytales (21, 25,26, 28, 29, 30), whereas one more vaguely indicated this had not been the case (24: "Nej egentlig ikke").

7 of the 8 who had discussed the fairytales, stressed that they had not changed their minds about the fairytales, and accordingly, they still thought they were [affective] unpleasant and a far cry from normal fairytales (31); [stylistic] written in a childish language and not old (33); artificial, a fact revealed by the use of expressions like "arse", "put a bunch of grass up between her legs" (20); [form and content] bad and muddled (22); and too difficult to understand properly (27). Only two did not mention what they had thought themselves at this question (32, 34).

The last reader who had discussed the fairytales (23), found that the discussion had revealed that Prince had been easier to understand in depth.

III.2.4 Preferences

One reader only refrained from giving his/her preferences because all the tales followed the same pattern (19). The other 34 readers had little difficulty in identifying the fairytale they liked best - or disliked the least.

4 of these readers found their favourite tale by exclusion as it were: 2 readers by picking the one they disliked the least (9, 30), and the other 2 by saying that they preferred the one fairytale they felt they understood (11, 21).

Three readers compared all stories (22, 23, 31). Four readers Per and Prince (14, 18, 28, 29), and one reader Girl and Prince (33).

Most readers, however, stuck to explaining why they preferred one specific fairytale.

Popularity

In absolute figures, Per was the most popular fairytale with 16 readers (3,7,10,12,14,15,16,18,21,22,24,26,28, 29,30,35). Prince was favoured by 9 readers (2,4,5, 11, 13, 17, 20, 23, 31). And 7 readers preferred Girl.(1,6,8,9, 32,33, 34).

The arguments

A breakdown of the arguments advanced to support preference or rejection of each fairytale goes as follows:

PER

Affective/evaluative/ tonal qualities:

- it was funny or humorous: 8 readers (3, 7, 10, 15, 27, 29, 30, 35). Some pointed to the pærtegøjj (7, 12) or [perhaps the same] the ending (29)
- empathy/sympathy with Per, the protagonist: 2 readers ( 7, 10).

Formal features:

- the description is realistic, down-to-earth: 4 readers ( 7, 10, 14, 18).
- genre features: the fewest number of the often boring repetitions in fairytales : 1 reader (16). Negative: it is traditional when compared to Prince: 1 reader (23 ).

Elements:

- although it contains some of the traditional fairytale elements, eg. an old woman, the magic figure of 3, it is yet suspenseful ("overraskende") : 1 reader (3) [16 also refers to the old woman as the representative of the supernatural].
- it has a happy ending : 1 reader (18).

Plot/Action

- the plot/intrigue etc. is good: 5 readers,as it contains moments of suspense (3) like a drama with some task involving the protanist's life and a secret love affair (16); the plot progresses chronologically (22), it is the most coherent one (30), and there ending is consistent with the precedding action - as opposed to the other fairytales ( 21)

Theme

- the protagonist is victorious: 1 reader (24)

"Appeal"

- it is the easiest one to understand : 1 reader (29)
- it appeals most to me, and has the best morale: 1 reader (26)

GIRL

Affective/ evaluative/ tonal qualities:

- it is the least vulgar fairytale: 1 reader (32).
- it sets your imagination at work : 1 reader (1).

Formal features:

- genre features: 5 readers (1, 6, 9, 32, 34). Set in a non-descript past it is easy to understand for minors (1); with a real fairytale ending (6); it sticks to the rules for fairytales (34).

Narrative style:

- the style was simple and sweet, like Hans Andersen : 2 readers (8,9)
- Negative. The use of the word "arse" was disruptive to the fairytale atmosphere: 1 reader (20).
- Negative. [Plot ?]. It was jerky/jumpy ("springende"): 1 reader (22)

Elements:

- it had three tasks: 3 readers (9, 33, 34), which were more varied than in the other fairytales (33), and a prince (9).
- it has a happy ending (34; 6 "fairytale ending"): 2 readers

Plot/Action

- the plot was varied and suspenseful: 2 readers(33, 34)
- Negative. The plot and the ending were not consistent: 2 readers(21,30).
- one can make an "actant-model" : 1 reader (34 - who draws it up)

Theme

- a poor girl gets married to a prince: 2 readers (1,9)

"Appeal"

- because of its simplicity you did not have to think much: 1 reader (8).

PRINCE

Affective / evaluative /tonal qualities:

- it is the least vulgar fairytale: 1 reader (31).
- it is the most humorous/funniest one: 2 readers (2, 18).
- it is the least traditional/ most alien one: 1 reader (23).
- it sets your imagination at work : 1 reader (13).
- Negative. It is not very realistic, e.g. to have a man become pregnant 1 reader (14).

Formal features:

- Genre features: 6 readers. It is the most typical fairytale: 5 readers (4, 11, 17, 20, 31), and has some (specified) fairytale themes (17), and has some (specified)fairytale elements (31). It has untraditional features, like e.g. the man who gets pregnant: 1 reader (2)

Language/ Style:

- the language is noteworthy: 2 readers. It is devoid of modern features (20); some phrases are untraditional (5 - quoting one dialect feature, and one phrase where the word is oldfashioned ("frugtsommelig"))

Elements:

- it has episodes involving the supernatural: 1 reader (17)
- it has the magic figure of three: 1 reader (20)
- it has typical fairytale elements viz., eg. a young couple, an enemy (the in-law) who tries to destroy the married bliss, a happy ending, the well-deserved punishment, and royalty (31).

Plot/Action:

- the plot follows that of typical fairytales : 1 reader ( 31).
- is suspenseful and has a morale : 1 reader (17).
- the ending is good: 1 reader (28)
- Negative. There is no consistency between the plot and the ending: 1 reader (21). The action/plot is jerky/muddled: 2 readers (22, 30).
- It is easy to set up an "actant-model": 1 reader (20).

Theme:

- good (the prince) and evil (the mother-in-law) are personified: 1 reader (17)

"Meaning" (!)

-"I did not really grasp the other two" (11)

- the tale can be interpreted at different levels [which are not specified]: 2 readers (13,25).

III.2.5 Familiar or alien character of the tales

As was the case with the Turkish fairytales, but to a somewhat lesser degree, answers to Question 2 were based on gradation.

Three readers refrained from taking a stance. One by implying the question could not be answered (34); one by saying they were neither Danish, nor exotic (19); one by answering in a totally undecipherable way (23).

Three readers took a stance, but reported that none was particularly Danish or foreign; all were traditional tales with hero/heroine undergoing ordeals (33 - who found Prince most familiar("almindelig")); reminiscent of other fairytales in plot, but not really old-fashioned (32 - who found Girl least modern); all tales had the traditional three tasks (1 - who found Prince most exotic).

One reader found all the tales somewhat strange: "they all have wrong tenses, wrong syntax, etc." (18 - who found Prince most exotic because of the milieu).

"Most Danish"

No reader opted for more than one fairytale. The fairytales appeared most Danish as follows:

Per: 15 readers (6, 7, 8, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20, 21, 22, 25, 27, 30).

Girl: 5 readers (2, 4, 5, 9, 32).

Prince: 2 readers (28, 33).

"Least Danish/Most exotic"

The fairytales appeared most exotic as follows:

Per: 1 reader (31)

Girl: 2 readers (7,11)

Prince: 13 readers (1, 3, 8, 12, 15, 16, 18, 22, 24, 26, 27, 29, 30)

Arguments

A breakdown of the arguments advanced runs as follows:

PER

Danish

Formal features

- genre features: 2 readers . The fairytale is reminiscent of some of Andersen's tales (14, 17)[The reference may actually be to the

setting[ i.e. manor-houses etc.].

Elements

- the name of Per: 3 readers (6, 15, 21)
- no un-Danish animals and customs : 1 reader (6)
- the titles/denominations of jobs/ positions (e.g. "forvalter" (steward), "herremand" (squire)): 3 readers (10,16, 30)
- the impossible tasks, the old woman, the happy ending are alle typically Danish: 1 reader (7) §
- the manor(house) ("herregård"): 3 r.(14, 20, 30)
- daler : 2 readers (20,30)
- the wood : 1 reader (14).
- the setting: 7 readers (10,16, 22, 25, 27, 30, 35) which describes something typically Danish from the feudal society with manorhouses

Theme

- it is unusual to hear about a woman who wants to be unfaithful: 1 reader (13).

Alien/Exotic

Miscellaneous: 1 reader (31)

- "the plot is very special, in so far as there is no young couple to marry, as Per forgives his wife (which is highly unusual) as there is no royalty, and as the fight with evil goes on in a very strange, curious way." (31).

GIRL

Danish

Formal features:

- genre features: because I associate Grimm with Danish fairytales, even though they are not, and this one is most like some of theirs: 1 reader (9).

Language :

- the language is most Danish: 2 readers (4, 5), and vulgar (5)

Style:

- [possibly genre feature]: the vulgar ending is typical of modern Danish writing : 1 reader (4).

Elements

- the girl facing impossible tasks who is helped out by a transformed prince is typical of Danish fairytales: 1 reader (2).

Plot/Action: [unspecified] : 1 reader (5)

Alien/Exotic

Tonal/Affective qualities:

- it is cruel and grim : 2 readers (7, 11)
- not romantic in style (11)
- a bit vulgar and perverted (11).

Plot/Action:

- dramatic compared to Per: 1 reader (17- who favours Per).

PRINCE

Danish

Tonal/Affective qualities

- it has a Danish atmosphere ("man føler den danske ånd"): 1 reader (28)

Alien/Exotic

Tonal/affective qualities

- it is grim : 1 reader (17).

Language: [unspecified]: 1 reader (26)

Elements

- a wise woman does not belong in a fairytale: 1 reader (32).
- the salmon is not Danish : 1 reader (12) §
- the tiger is unDanish: 9 readers (8, 12, 15,16,22,24,27,30, 35) and should be related with Eastern countries: 2 readers (22, 30), and was hardly known in the middle ages : 1 reader (29).
- the unidentifiable, non-descript setting is un-Danish: 2 readers (1, 18).
- wars are unusual in a Danish context: 1 reader (30) §

Specific actions/circumstances

- infertility is usually taboo and untraditional: 1 reader (3)
- the man's pregnancy : 1 reader (16)
- the idea of eating children in non-Danish : 1 reader (16).
- the idea of a tiger bringing up a child is alien : 3 readers - and reminiscent of the Junglebook (Kipling) (30), an Indian tradition with "wolf-children" as in Kipling's story (35).
- the idea of putting children in chests in a stream reminds one of Moses in the Bible : 1 reader (35)

Plot/Action:

- it is dramatic when compared to Per : 1 reader (17).

III.2.6 Symbols and symbolic elements in the fairytales

Four readers had failed to answer the question (18,19,33, 35).

One reader did not understand the question (25).

Five rejected the idea out of hand with emphatic "No"s (7, 21, 22, 28,30).

Two did not immediately see any symbols (3,20).

One reader found that although the figure of three and supernatural events were present, the action was explained by means of words, not symbols (31).

As was the case with the Turkish fairytales (cp p. 17 above), the answers were rarely holistic, and usually focussed on only some few elements of ideas, even though the answers tended to be better phrased and more cogent than the breakdown suggests:

Breakdown

PER : A total of 5 readers pointed to it( 6, 12, 13, 14, 17). Of these 2 had favoured it most.

Elements:

- magic figures: 1 reader (6).
- the protagonist represents what is good and just, even if he is not pure and innocent: 1 reader (12)
- the pærtegøjj connects with people's stupidity/insensivity (" dumhed"): 1 reader (13)
- the whip is a symbol of rule, of how one can gain the upper hand, power : 1 reader (17).

Thematic /Underlying Patterns/ Symbols:

[NOTE: some of the above could arguably be bracketed here].

- it is a symbol of the power one may exert if one owns a terrifying weapon: 1 reader (14).

GIRL : A total of 8 readers mentioned it (1,2,6,8, 12, 13, 14, 17, 29). 3 of them had liked it best .

Elements:

- magic figures: 1 reader (6).
- the helper who assists the weak person and brings about a happy ending : 1 reader (2)
- the protagonist is a symbol of purity and innocence: 1 reader(12).
- the kiss symbolises that one can get far by physical contact, even when it is not sexual : 1 reader (17).

Thematic/Underlying Symbols/Patterns

[NOTE: a few of the following suggestions are almost "lessons"].

- Even small and humble people can attain happiness and marriage if they show faith in somebody else : 1 reader(8).
- It symbolises the transition from childhood to adulthood : 1 reader (29).
- It is symbolic in having a morale: 1 reader (1).
- One has to undergo ordeals to attain happiness: 1 reader (1).
- One should never give up : 3 readers (1, 13, 14), and be willing to undergo ordeals such as go to hell to attain happiness (1), not despair even if the outlook is bleak (13), try to manage in adversity (14).

PRINCE: 12 readers (2,4,5,6,10,11,12,14,15,17,26,29), only one of which had liked it best.

Elements:

- magic figures : 1 reader (6 - who picks the tale for his example).
- the helper who assists the weak person and brings about a happy ending : 1 reader (2 , cf. response on Girl above).
- the salmon is a symbol of fertility : 2 readers(10, 14).
- as a fish the salmon is a symbol of death and negligence, the latter visited on the tiger child : 1 reader (17).
- the tiger child's muteness is a symbol of repression in the world : 1 reader (17)
- the protagonist is a symbol of purity and innocense: 1 reader (12 , cf. response on Girl above); a symbol of goodness and wisdom : 1 reader (15).
- the mother-in-law is a symbol of evil: 1 reader ( 15); a symbol of jealousy : 1 reader (5).

Thematic/Underlying Symbols/Patterns:

- Goodness, the prince in the tale, goes on forgiving : 1 reader (10).
- the tale touches upon the problem about who can bear children ( and then of course, it is funny that the man gets pregnant) : 1 reader (11).
- Class differences and the ensuing jealousy : 1 reader (4 - 5 has copied the idea ineptly).
- The transition from childhood to adulthood: 1 reader (29).

GENERALISED COMMENTS

Eleven readers made some kind of generalised comments.

- all fairytales have a symbolic meaning: 4 readers. Two did not specify this (24,34), whereas the other two mentioned some features in one of the tales (8, 15).

- all fairytales have a moral message: if you are good you obtain what you are striving after : 1 reader (9).

- there are magic figures, especially the figure of 3 : readers (1, 6, 23, 32).

- there are supernatural powers/elements/happenings, such as old women, magic means, dwarfs, transformations: 2 readers (23, 32 - who both mention one of the features in the list ).

- there supernatural beings are symbols of good and evil: 1 reader (6).

- it is possible to set up "actant-models" for the tales: 1 reader(32).

- the things always symbolise something from the age when the fairytales were taken down, viz. hopeless dreams, things one has to give up : 1 reader (1)

- the supernatural elements and actions are symbols of something in ordinary life : 1 reader (27)

- all of them contain symbols, some of them sexual: 1 reader (16).

III.2.7 The question of "deeper meaning"

Five readers failed to answer the question: (15,17,18,34,35).

Ten readers answered "No". Four of them flatly so (21,22,31,32), two because they considered fairytales as entertainment only (2,28 - who added that in order to appeal to the real audience, viz. children, they had to have suspense). Another reader added that "the man who gives birth to a girl disturbs me, but I do not know what is wrong" (30). One reader did not find it obvious ("Nej, ikke umiddelbart") (3). And finally two readers insisted that they had a moral (8,9), in so far as they did not contain a social criticism, or attacks on individuals (9).

One reader had found a deeper meaning only in Per - but did not specify what it was (4).

One reader was sure there was one, but had been unable to find it because of the many symbols (27).

Four readers referred to the answers they had given at question 3 (1,5,11,20).

As was the case with the Turkish tales it is possible to divide the answers into "it shows" and "lessons" (the latter characterised by the use of words like "bør" (i.e. ought to), "skal" ( should(not) ).

PER: A total of 7 readers (10,14,16,24,25,29,33).

It shows

- adultery does not pay: 1 reader (10).

Lessons/moral

- One should not meddle with others' wives: 1 reader (29).
- It is a moral warning against unfaithfulness and falseness : 2 readers (24,33).
- Unfaithfulness is bad and should not be hidden, since it will always be discovered: 1 reader (14).
- The woman who stays at home and looks after her husband is doing right: 1 reader (16).
- One must be able to forgive and to forget: 1 reader (10).
- One should not run away from the problems but solve them as they turn up: 1 reader (14).
- One should not give up - by assiduity one will always attain one's goal: 1 reader (25).
- Justice is always established at the end, even if one feels there is no help: somewhere, there's always some kind of an "old woman": 1 reader (16).

GIRL: 3 readers (16, 25, 33)

It shows

- wishful thinking: that humble people may rise in society by undergoing ordeals and become happy: 1 reader (33).

Lessons/moral

- it pays to help those who are weak and to take their advice: 1 reader (16)
- one can overcome all obstacles by helping others first: 1 reader (25).

PRINCE: 5 readers (16, 25, 26, 29, 33).

It shows

- wishful thinking: that humble people may rise in society by undergoing ordeals, and become happy : 1 reader (33, cp. response on Girl).
- that mothers-in-law are awful: 1 reader (25).
- a picture of society in so far as the tiger is an institution(i.e. an orphanage), and the mother-in-law represents(established) society: 1 reader (26).
- good winning over evil : 3 readers (16, 29, 33), with justice victorious at the end (16).
- a social conflict: 1 reader (25)

Lesson/Moral

- that men should refrain from meddling in others' affairs: it leads to disaster only: 1 reader (25).

GENERALISED COMMENTS: 5 readers made comments applying to all three fairytales.(6,7 ,12,13,23), and in addition, two of those who had referred to specific tales, also stressed that all fairytales have a deeper meaning (25,26).

- They deal with human destiny/life ("mennesket og dets skæbne"): 1 reader (7).
- No matter what ordeals/repression/exploitation the protagonist are subjected to, (s)he always ends up happy : 2 readers (13,23).
- Good will always win in the end : 1 reader (12).
- The purpose of the tales is to instruct and exhort the listeners: 1 reader (12).
- No one should rule over others and determine their lives: 1 reader(6)
- Everybody, animal or human, should be equal: 1 reader (6)
- The humble persons should show those who are strong that they misbehave, by using the same dirty ways and means: 1 reader (6).
- There ought to be no difference between rich and poor: 1 reader (6).

MISCELLANEOUS COMMENTS (at all questions but not registered there): all tales are funny and original: 1 reader (7) - all are perverted : 1 reader (12) .

The tales seem to be artificial : 1 reader (20). Some symbols appear strongly aftificial: 1 reader (27) [NOTE: the last two readers imply that we have made the tales by using the word "konstruerede" - both of them belong to those readers who had discussed the fairytales].

## III.3 THE OUTSIDE/COMMON TALES

### III.3.1 The Outside/Common Texts

The outside/common tales had been translated into Danish from German and English as described in Report 7, Chapter VI.

They were THE UNGRATEFUL SNAKE, THE FOX, AND THE MAN (Den utaknemmelige slange, ræven og manden), a Greek tale printed in R.M. Dawkins' More Greek Folktales (Oxford, 1955)

ALLERLEI-RAUH (Ruhår), a German tale printed in Friedrich Panzer (ed.), Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm. Vollständige Ausgabe in der Urfassung (Wiesbaden, 1955)

And MUSK AND AMBER (Velduft), given under the heading of "The Girl Who Married an Animal", but footnoted as having been called "Musk and Amber" by the original narrator in R. M. Dawkins' Modern Greek Folktales (Oxford 1953). In the typing of this tale, the girl was erroneously asked to go to the ogress's sister to get "violets" the first time round, instead of the "fiddles" we hear of later in the tale. The variation between "fiddles" and "fiddles and flutes", however, is found in the original text and was retained in translation.

### III.3.2 The Readers

As mentioned pp.4-5, the outside/common tales were handed out to two classes at the same school, Skt. Annæ Gymnasium.

In the first class, the tales were handed out by me on 9 May, and the answers were collected on 14 May. There were 19 girls and 9 boys. whose average age was 18. 4 answers were incomplete: 1 reader had failed to answer question no. 5 (210), 2 had not answered questions 4 and 5 (224,226), and 1 reader questions 3 and 5 (225). The answers are numbered 201-226 (Class D).

In the other class, the tales were handed out by the teacher on 12 May, and I collected the answers on 14 May . Only 4 girls and 6 boys were present. The average age was 18. 5 of the answers were incomplete: 3 readers failed to answer question 5 (232, 234,235), and 2 readers question 3 (233, 236). The answers are numbered 227-236 (Class E).

The only question concerned question 3, and the answer given was the usual one (see pp. 7 and 23).

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+ the Danish word for violet is "viol", for fiddle "violin". It was a misreading made in typing.

III.3.3 Did the readers discuss the fairytales ?

In class E with 26 readers, 4 did not answer the question(10,24,25,26).

Ten readers had not discussed the fairytales (1,2,3,4,5,15,17,18,19, 21) - one of them regretting not having done so ("Nej, desværre" (19)).

The last twelve had discussed the fairytales. Eleven reported that this had not changed their views, and four let it stand at this (9, 12,13, 23). One added that that the discussion had been in very general terms (7); two that they still thought they the fairytales were poor (8,16) - the former one because (s)he did not understand them properly. One still thought all of them were strange (14), and the last three who did not feel that they had changed their views, still found Allerlei-rauh poor and strange (20), and the incest idea repulsive (20, 22), as well as Musk and Amber's treatment of his would-be bride nasty (22).

The last reader (11) :"Yes, we discussed them on the train this morning! But I have not changed my views essentially. I had only misunderstood /Snake/ and thought it was the dog which had the closing speech. The others told me it was actually Polly the fox."(11).

In class F with 10 readers, three refrained from answering the question (32, 34, 35).

Three other readers had not discussed the fairytales (30, 31, 36).

The last four readers reported that their attitude had not been changed by the discussion (27,28,29, 33). It was mentioned that they had agreed that Musk was best (28), and they had discussed the muddled/illogical thinking/ plot in Allerleirauh (28, 29) . One reader reported that (s)he had read it as a child in a different version and had not then been struck by the lack of consistency (29), and two others referred to the fact that others had read the tale elsewhere (27, 28).

III.3.4 Preferences

One reader abstained from giving any preference, because (s)he found that none of the tales were proper fairytales since the endings were not just ("alle tre har en meget uretfærdig slutning") (4).

The rest had no difficulty in identifying the tale they found best.

Only one reader compared two tales, viz. Snake and Musk (30).

Many readers, a total of 18 compared all three tales.

Twelve of them did so by explicitly referring to elements in the other tales as well, and are accordingly, included in the breakdown (4,9,16,17, 22,24,26,28,29,30,31,36).

Nine did so implicitly, i.e. they reported on what made them prefer the story they favoured by lumping together the elements/things they did not approve of in the other tales. Although there is some slight overlapping ( readers may well have made a kind of general comment, then to make a specific one), it is most reasonable to list them, using the tale preferred as the point of starting point:

SNAKE: /Affective qualities/: the two others contain many repulsive things: 1 reader (22).-/Style, Language/: the other two had typical fairytale openings "Once upon a time ..." : 1 reader (9 ). - /Elements/: Not in favour of typical fairytale elements like princes, trolls, kings, witches, etc. and happy endings: 2 readers (2,9). - /Plot/: the other tales have typical fairytale plots with ordeals leading to an happy ending: 1 reader (3); there is no organic consistency between the beginning and the end in the two other tales: 1 reader (24). - /Moral, Lessons/: the other two are very strict about what people must and must not: 1 reader (18); the message is childish, and children are actually only told to keep away from witches, and that one should protect one's virginity: 1 reader (21).

MUSK: /Style, Language/: the other two were stylistically poor and had some illogical sentences: 1 reader (20) + - /Meaning, ,Moral/: perhaps because I did not understand the moral or the symbolism behind the other two: 1 reader (19).

Popularity

In absolute figures Snake and Musk were both favoured by 16 readers:

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+ this probably refers to the misprint mentioned p. 37 (The texts).

Snake (1,2,3,8,9,13,14,16,18, 21,22,23,24,30,31,34), Musk (5,6,7,10,11, 12,15,17,19,20,26,27,28,29,33,35). Allerleirauh was considered best by 3 readers (25. 32, 36).

The arguments

SNAKE

Formal features

- it is the most classical one: 1 reader (14 - the reference may well be to fables).
- Genre features: it is most like a fairytale: 1 reader (14) §
- It is a (kind of) fabel: 7 readers (9,16,17, ,23,28,29,34), and the language is typical of fables (16) .Negative: But devoid of a moral which is good (it is : don't trust anybody) (17). Negative: "I don't like fables" (28).
- there are few repetitions, and the ones found were not identical:2 readers (22,30). Negative: the repetitions are boring and trivial: 1 reader (26).

Language/Style

- the narration is good/simple: 2 readers (22,30)
- the language is easy to understand: 1 reader (23).

Elements /Character

- reflect on real life, e.g. ingratitude: 3 readers (1,2, 24)
- people/animals you cannot trust: 1 reader (2)
- man behaving like animals: 1 reader (3,).
- animals being used in an interesting way in a tale: 1 reader (34)
- on closer inspection it turns out that - except for the horse - all characters are actuated by personal gain or revenge: 1 reader (31).
- smart ending - even though it is not nice that the fox is cheated: 1 reader (22).
- Negative. The fox is cheated : 1 reader (4).
- Negative. The ending is not good: 1 reader (17).

Plot/action

- It has the best/most logical plot with no loose ends: 3 readers (8,16,24).
- Negative. The plot and ending are foreseeable and boring: 1 reader(26).

Themes

- it deals with promises, gratitude, and man against animals: 1 reader (24).
- ingratitude among humans and animals as a reflection of real life: 3 readers (1,2, 18 - the last as "virkelighedsnært").
- how man will betray others: 1 reader (13).
- the clever one wins in the end: 1 reader (1).

Morals/Lessons

- it has a (kind of ) moral or a serious message: 8 readers (9, 13, 14,16,17,21,23,36), which may be edifying(for children)(21,36). Negative. which is not edifying (36), which is not good, since it is that one should never trust anybody, and must be egotistical in order to win (17).

Miscellaneous

- it is too difficult for children to understand it: 1 reader (29).

ALLERLEIRAUH

In this case, a breakdown will do no justice to the responses and blur the picture.

Positive comments: 3 readers.

- It is curious and one is surprised all the time, partly because of the theme (the father who marries his daughter), partly because of the small episodes (the boot in her face) (25).
- an untraditional fairytale which is truly amazing in a positive fashion: usually good vanquishes evil, but here the king who is wicked has his wishes fulfilled and lives happily ever after (32)
- most like an ordinary fairytale such as those by Andersen (36 - the reference it is probably to the setting) §

Negative comments: 8 readers.
/Affective, evaluative qualities/: the most immoral fairytale I ever read: 1 reader (16).- /Formal features/: very repetitious: 1 reader (29); - shortened and hence muddled: 1 reader (28); - genre features: reminiscent of Cinderella: 2 readers (26; 4 "the Cinderella maturation process"). -/Character (motivation)/ : It is silly/inconsistent/ curious/incomprehensible that the princess flies away/stays in disguise (hiding) because she does not want to marry her father, and then does so in the end: 6 readers (4, 17,22,26,28,31). - /Plot/: it is so similar to Cinderella that one immediately foresees the chain of events: 1 reader (26). - /Theme/: it deals with incest : 1 reader (22)

MUSK

Affective/evaluative/tonal qualities:

- it is artful (6) with humorous episodes (5), and comical obstacles(29): 3 readers
- it is the most just one : 1 reader (10).
- Negative: it is nonsensical: 1 reader (16).
- it is easy to understand: 2 readers (17,19)
- Negative. it is difficult to read if one does not concentrate: 1 reader (36).

Formal features

- it is the most unrealistic one ("usandsynlige"): 1 reader (27).
- there is the right number of repetitions: 1 reader (28).
- Negative. There are too many repetitions : 1 reader (30).
- Genre features: It is the most traditional/typical fairytale or the most fairytale-like tale: 6 readers (12, 15, 19,20,28,33).

Elements (Characters)

- the ordeals were interesting: 4 readers (5,28, 29,,35), especially because it was difficult to establish their exact function until the end (29); and ordeals are typical of fairytales (20).
- it has typical fairytales elements such as the helper, witches,sorcery, a poor girl, etc. : 3 readers ( 7, 20, 28).
- it has a happy fairytale ending (7,: 2 readers (7, 20).
- the trick by which Musk's would-be bride is rejected: 3 readers - is curious, and something I like (11). Negative.-Repulsive and disgusting: 2 readers (4, 22).
- one's attitude towards the girl changes from one of dislike when she misbehaves by eating the loaf, to a hope that she will succeed: 1 reader (11).
- even though the girl and Musk are "good" they do misbehave by eating the loaf, and cheating the would-be bride, respectively: 1 reader (6).

Plot/Action

- the plot is filled with suspense/exciting episodes : 4 readers (4, 26, 29, 33) - because it is more difficult to anticipate the action (33) - even though one is pretty sure of the outcome from the very beginning ( 26, 29).
- the best fairytale because one knew the outcome from almost from the very beginning: 1 reader (27).
- Negative. The action goes on for ever and ever: 1 reader (30).

Themes/Moral

- an artful playing out of evil vs. good: 1 reader (6).
- the story of how a young girl manages to overcome obstacles: 1 reader (35).
- the fight to be accepted by one's mother-in-law: 1 reader (5).
- " Be good to everybody, no matter how ugly - it will be rewarded" : 1 reader (5).

## III.3.5 Familiar or alien character of the fairytales

As was the case with the Danish and the Turkish fairytales, the answer to the question about the Danish or alien character of the tales, is often based on gradations. In a few cases, readers have categorised only one tale as Danish or alien and the others as, respectively, alien or Danish. They are included in the below figures.

Only one reader refrained from taking a stand (15), while two others - who did categorise the tales - mentioned that all of them might be Danish (12, 19 - at least "European)"). One reader (17) expressed surprise that there should be fairytales which one could ascribe to geographical regions: "I always thought that fairytales take place in fairylands which the authors have purposely made different from their own societies."

"Most Danish"

Snake: 9 readers (4, 13,14,18,23,26,27,28,30).
Allerleirauh:14 readers (1,2,3,5,6,7,10,20,21,24,29,32,34,35).
Musk: 9 readers (8,21,22,25,29,31,32,34,36).

Least "Danish"/Most exotic

Snake: 13 readers (2,6,8,9,11,20,21,22,25,29,33,34,36)
Allerleirauh: 6 readers (4,12, 13,14,18,30).
Musk:12 readers (1,3,4,5,10,14,16,17,18,24,30,35).

Arguments

SNAKE

"Danish"

Formal features

- compared to the other two (which are disgusting) it is an ordinary tale - except for the incomprehensible ending:1 reader (14).

Elements

- no unusual names : 1 reader (12)- who probably means "words/phenomena") §
- (most of ) the animals live in Denmark: 3 readers (4, 26, 28), - "Mikkel Ræv" [i.e. the Danish translation of 'Dame Polly'] (4), - although they can speak and we have no asses (28).

Theme/Moral

- is easy to relate to everyday life /is straightforward: 2 readers (27, 30).

- it has a moral, like a Danish fairytale by Andersen: 1 reader(23).
- the moral is applicable to Danish society : 1 reader (4).

Alien/Exotic

Formal features/Genre features

- it is a fable: 8 readers (2,6,8,9,11,20,22,29) which are alien/Eastern (2,9), reminiscent of Latin fables read (22), as opposed to Danish fairytales/the others (6, 29), with a moral, viz., that man is not quite as just and good as he likes to give out(8).

Elements

- "on the way to the mountain" : 1 reader (9)
- we have no (big) snakes: 5 readers (4,6,7,22,36) which are man-eaters (7,36).
- speaking animals are non-Danish : 1 reader (34) §
- there are no princes, kings, witches, etc.: 1 reader (30).
- "I did not understand the ending lines": 1 reader (20).
- the fact that family ties are important: 1 reader (25 - who quotes the ending lines).

Themes

- it is rare to hear about humans vs animals/human exploitation of animals: 2 readers (21, 25).

Miscellaneous (Unclassifiable): the topic is exotic: 1 reader (11).

ALLERLEIRAUH

"Danish"

Formal features/Genre features

- it reminds me of the fairytales I read as a child: 2 readers (2,34).

"Style"

- the style is reminiscent of Danish fairytales (5), Andersen (28 (citing a story), 35, 32 (with reservations)) or Grimm (32): 4 readers.

Elements

- there are no elements which might not be Danish: 2 readers (5,7).
- the royal characters: 5 readers (1,2,3,24,35), viz., the queen (1), the princess (2,35), the king (1,3,24,35). §
- the witch is Nordic: 1 reader (29) §
- things of gold: 1 reader (24) §
- the magic figure of tree (times): 2 readers (3,6).

Miscellaneous (Moral?): the moral is obvious: 1 reader (32).

Alien/Exotic

The Language/"Style"

- the choice of words [unspecified]: 1 reader (13).
- the language: 2 readers (30,20) - 1 points to perfectly correct Danish "have en datter med hinanden" as 'an error of translation' (30) §
  - the other to the changes of tense, and an [unidentifiable] speech which it is difficult to ascribe to a specific character (20).
- the tale reminds one of Grimm fairytales, and Grimm was German: 1 reader (4)

Elements

- the obsession with gold (e.g. in dresses) in non-Danish: 1 reader (12).

Plot/Action

- the plot is illogical, since the protagonist feels disgust at the beginning and ends up by marrying her father - and there is no reason why the cook should be rewarded : 1 reader (20).

Theme

- the theme of a father marrying his daughter is non-Danish: 2 readers (14,18).
- the theme is strongly sexual : 1 reader (25).
- the theme [unspecified] is non-Danish: 1 reader (13).

MUSK

"Danish"

"Style"

- the style is reminiscent of Andersen (31, 28 - citing a story), 32 (with reservations)), or Grimm (32): 3 readers.

Elements

- there are typical Danish fairytales elements: 5 readers, viz. impossible tasks and a helper (8, 25 - adding as in Cinderella), witches (8,29,34), castles (34, 36), a handsome son (8), trolls (36). §
- there is a happy ending : 1 reader (8). §

Theme/Moral

- as in Danish fairytales, the characters do not treat one another well : 1 reader (22).
- as in Andersen's tales, the moral is clear : 1 reader.

Miscellaneous (Moral?) the moral is obvious: 1 reader (32).

Alien/Exotic

Affective/Tonal quality

- it seems to be new: 1 reader (30).

Language"/"Style"

- the narrative angle is not consistent: 2 readers (14,16 - with widely diffent phrasings).
- there is an inconsistency [NOTE: This is a reference to the misprint mentioned p. 39 (fn)]: 1 reader (16).

Elements/Characters

- village: 1 reader (24) §
- a witch: 1 reader (5) §
- we do not meet with the magic figure of 3, but with more: 1 reader (3).
- there are not twelve winds, but only four: 1 reader (16).
- asses: 1 reader (3) §
- lions: 2 readers (3,24).
- fig-trees: 4 readers (3,5,7,17)
- the Virgin Mary: 5 readers (3,4,5,17,24).
- you would not meet with a witch with a good son in a Danish fairy-tale: 1 reader (16).
- the phenomena are strange: 1 reader (35).
- the characters are strange because they are not freed from some kind of charm when the girl is on her way back to the castle: 1 reader (16).
- the two women, sweeping the oven with her breasts, and the long eyelashes, are more repulsive than anything we find in Danish fairytales: 2 readers (14,16).
- it would be no disaster to loose your kerchief in Denmark: 1 reader (18).
- there is no character with whom one can sympathise: 1 reader (14).

III.3.6 Symbols and symbolic elements in the tales

Two readers had not answered the question (33,36)

Three readers thought there were no symbols/had not tried to find them (6, 17, 22), but referring to Allerleirauh it was stressed that " I still find it too nasty that the king wants to marry his own daughter"(6).

One reader (27), referred to the answer given to the next question.

Breakdown

SNAKE. A total of 14 readers referred to it (1,2,3,9,11,13,15,20,25,26, 28, 29, 31, 34). Of these 6 had liked it best.

Elements

- the figure of three: one reader (31).
- the ass is a symbol of those who are suppressed/exploited ("under-kuede"): 1 reader (29).
- the fox is a symbol of craftiness/slyness: 5 readers (4,.20, 26,29, 34) , although it is cheated here (4,20, 29).
- the fox is a symbol of ordinary people who are cheated: 1 reader (3)
- the snake is crime, wickedness, venality personified: readers (3, 11,20,26,29 ) - as in the Bible/the Garden of Eden (11,20) - and is untrustworthy (26 ).
- the snake is the one from Paradise although it is cheated: 1 reader(4).
- " " symbolises the biblical episode: 1 reader (15) §
- the snake is the victim of Man's actions: 1 reader (34).
- the man is craftiness personified : 1 reader (29)
- the animals are symbols of human beings: 1 reader (1).

Themes/Moral

- it has a moral and expresses a certain philosophy ("livsholdning"): 1 reader (25).
- Man's real nature : 2 readers(1,3).
- You can trust yourself only/Don't trust anybody: 2 readers (1,28 - who adds that this is the edifying moral of this fable).
- Man's supremacy over animals, the attempt to domesticate them : 1 reader (13).
- Man as the most clever being/Man as the one who cheats those who are less clever than he/ Wit comes out tops: 2 readers (26,34).

ALLERLEIRAUH. A total of 12 readers referred to it (1,11,14,15,16,19,20, 21,26,31,34,35). None of them considered it best.

Elements

- poor people are dirty (and are treated as dirt): 1 reader (1).
- the disguise is symbolic : 1 reader (34).
- the figure of three is symbolic : 6 readers(11,14,15,20,21,26) which we find in the dresses/gifts (15,20,26) - the things she puts in the soup /the cake §+(11,14, 21 + ), but since I do not grasp why she changes her mind, their actual meaning escapes me (11 14).

Themes

- rich people can treat humble/poor people as dirt : 1reader (1- also element (as the cause)).
- love subjected to ordeals before it shows its real value/worth: 1 reader (35).

Miscellaneous

-"I guess it is the most symbolic tale - but she should have married another kin[illegible] Unless she has got a collosal Electra-complex. This is unlikely, though." (16)

-"Most symbolic. But I don't understand it. E.g. she lives in a stable-room for some time. Why ?" (19) .

-"Incomprehensible" (28).

MUSK. A total of 11 readers referred to it (1,2,5,11,12,16,21,26,28,34 ( and 24 with an unspecified "Yes"). Of these 5 had liked it best.

Elements

- the Virgin Mary and the incense are symbols of Christianity and the Church: 1 reader (12).
- the girl is a symbol of goodness: 1 reader (26)
- the witch is a symbol of evil: 2 readers (26, 2) - which naughty girls meet with (2).
- the obstacles/tasks/ordeals she meets with are symbolic: 3 readers (11, 21,34).

Themes

- that you have to undergo ordeals to attain happiness: 1 reader (1).
- a girl's drive/ambition and obstacles emphasising it: 1 reader (5).
- good victorious, but this is contradicted by the girl's marriage to the witch's son: 1 reader (16)
- the moral : the wicked witch finds out what happens to one if one is wicked - but this is not really symbolic: 1 reader (28)

+ this reader seems to have misread more than the soup, because (s)he also speaks of the girl as "a princess" in Musk.

GENERALISED COMMENTS

Some readers made generalised comments (7,10,18,19,23, 30, 32).

- Fairytales are always symbolic ( 7,18, 19, 30, 32) or moralistic (19); and it is possible to see symbols in all actions, the dresses, the speeches, and the appearance (7).
- The opening of all fairytales is symbolic: 1 reader (23)
- they contain symbols from which one can deduce a moral - and that is why they are used to tell children about right and wrong:1 reader(10).

III.3.7 The question of "deeper meaning"

Two readers failed to answer the question(24,26).

Two other readers thought there was no deeper meaning, and one had not tried to find one (1,13,19).

One readers referred to the answer given to question 3 (9).

Breakdown

SNAKE. A total of 27 readers ( 2,3,4,5,7,8,10,11,12,14,16, 17,18,20, 21,22,23, 25, 27,28,29,31,32,33,34,35,36). Six , however, failed to specify what it was (10,11,14,21,25,28).

It shows

- that ingratitude is the way of the world: 3 readers (2,29 ,35).
- something about gratitude and guilt. Guilt moves from one character to another: 1 reader (5)
- Man vs. animal : 1 reader (7).
- one cannot trust anyone: 4 readers (12,29,31,33), as when we see how the man is cheated by the snake, the snake by the man and the fox, and the fox by the man.
- Man is both good and bad. Good by helping, bad by cheating: 2 readers (8,20).
- there is something egoistical in all beings, not only those who which are evil : 1 reader : 1 reader (17).
- the indifference shown by people with a bad character towards friends when they do not need them : 1 reader (16).
- life and everyday reality :2 readers (18,27) where you help somebody and feel you have done something good - only to be cheated in the end (27).
- the clever ones cheat the less clever ones, Wit comes out tops: 2 readers (22,323).
- Man is a being who is most intelligent/uses his intelligence against other beings: 2 readers (22, 32).
- people are not what they appear to be : 1 reader (31).
- in many ways life is based on fraud and cheating: 1 reader (27)
- Man is not trustworthy. Both the man and the snake are ungrateful - and accordingly the title is a misnomer: 1 reader(3).
- how bribery pays off: 1 reader (34).

Morals/Lessons

- the moral is that man is the smartest animal on Earth: 1 reader(23).

- Behave towards others as you would like them to behave towards yourself: 1 reader (31)
- One should look after oneself and let what is evil perish: 1 reader (36).
- One should never help what is wicked, for it will never help one: 1 reader (12).
- One should take care not to be cheated when one helps others: 1 reader (4).
- One should never help anybody - you'll only get cheated: 1 reader(5).
- (I can imagine that it has been told by parents and grandparents to their offspring to tell the children that they should)be cautious about trusting or counting on other people: 1 reader (2).

Miscellaneous : 4 readers mentioned that Snake was the only one with a deeper meaning (11,20,33, - and 17 who, however, did advance hypotheses about the other two tales)

ALLERLEIRAUH. A total of 4 readers commented on it (4,17,34,35).

It shows

- that she has an Electra-complex : 1 reader (4).
- that perserverance will bring results: 1 reader (34).
- love subject to trial and winning in the end: 1 reader (35).
- (I cannot see any deeper meaning), but it might just barely be that love is strengthened by ordeals: 1 reader (17).

Miscellaneous: it has absolutely no deeper meaning (18). I find it incomprehensible (22).

MUSK. A total of 9 readers commented on it (4,6,12,17,18,22,28, 34,35)

It shows

- how one attains happiness/much by undergoing ordeals: 2 reader (4, 17) - but this is not a deeper meaning and it is difficult to grasp why the girl misbehaves at the beginning (17).
- that love may take you far and wide: 1 reader (34).
- a young girl's fantasy world after she has been rejected by her family, aptly enough personified by her mother: 1 reader(35).

Moral/Lessons

- Be good to others and they will be good to you: 2 readers (6, 22).
- To make girls be obedient: 1 reader (18).
- Make yourself beautiful to get a husband [NOTE: iron.](12).
- Keep men at a distance and they will love you: 1 reader(22).

Miscellaneous: it is intended to entertain only (28).

GENERALISED COMMENTS. Four readers made generalised comments.

Two stresseed that all fairytales have a deeper meaning (7,12).

One thought they discussed realistic, presentday topics, discrimination, ambition, etc (30).

One stressed that they show people how they, possibly society, really are (15).

## IV.0 DISCUSSION

### IV.1 Assessment of honesty of the answers

The relaxed atmosphere at the collecting of the answers, the promise of anonymity, and the repeated injunctions that the readers express themselves freely, seem to have promoted the kind of honest responses which we were after.

No reader appears to have been eager to please - in all cases, responses have ranged from favourable to downright rejection of the fairytales.

As for the attitude towards the experiment, none of the comments handed in bear evidence of hostility towards it. Apart from the cribbed response (see p.5 ), the only readers who may not have liked it were the four who abstained from answering the questions in class D - but here the explanation is, in at least one case, that the tales had not been read (see p. 23), and presumably the others had not read the tales because they thought they were to discuss them with a stand-in teacher. Some of the failures to provide answers to all questions should probably be ascribed to lack of time (this would logically apply to some of the readers who failed to answer the last question(s)), while others may have abstained from answering the questions they did not feel they understood (notably questions 3 and 4): it is suggestive that in most of them, the number of the question was written on the sheet of paper without commentary. The hypothesis is supported by the fact that at these questions we also meet with "Don't knows" and similar answers.

### IV.2 Discussion of the character and coverage of the responses

In the above breakdown, the answers have been categorised according to some headings which are, then, determined first and foremost by the (components of the) answers themselves, and not according to whether they are correct or incorrect. Nevertheless, some answers are clearly illegitimate:

#### IV.2.1 The illegitimate answers

These are answers which are wrong, either in connection with the text or which contain erroneous information (see p. 6 ).

In relation to the text it is wrong to say "the cake" where the text in Allerleirauh has "soup" (p. 49, Elements (221)), or that there is a "coffeehouse" in Pot (p. 16, Elements (3)), even though these are elements in other tales in the "same" group.

In relation to background knowledge it is erroneous to state that "spinning" is non-Danish (p. 16, Pot, Elements (24)), and that "salmon" is unknown in Denmark (p. 30, Per, Elements (12)).

Some of them may perhaps be explained as infelicitous phrasing, as when the concrete snake is said to symbolise the abstract biblical episode (p. 48, Elements (215)), but this does not change the fact that it is wrong.

In some cases, where the first impulse would be to classify a statement as erroneous, the context must, however, be taken into account: accordingly, it must be accepted that the idea of

tasks is typical of Danish fairytales, and can therefore be used for arguing that a tale is Danish (p. 29, Girl, Elements (107)), when we realise that there are not quite as many obvious tasks in the other two tales (Per and Prince). The principle underlying classification of a statement as illegitimate must therefore be based on a "in dubio pro reo". Small surprise then, that virtually all of the illegitimate statements concern elements, where the evaluation is easy to apply.

### IV.2.2 The other statements

The point of the present selection study was to uncover potential aspects of the literary experience. As mentioned, it is known from a number of studies that spontaneous responses are only incomplete reflections of the real experience i.e. that even though only one reader in a study of spontaneous responses will express him/herself on a given aspect, many readers may find it in their experiences (see p. 5 above). When we register non-rejectable, or "legitimate" statements about the experience of works of literature in the present study, we thus only know that it is there - we have no idea as to how this aspect will fare in a major study, e.g. whether it is found in the experience of only few or many readers. And in the present stage we had one additional problem: the texts at this stage were "phantom" texts which would differ from the texts we were to use for the main part of the project.

By and large, the responses elicited the way used here cannot be used for making sweeping statements which are statistically sound. It cannot e.g. be taken for granted that most readers will embrace the idea that Father reflects on the role of the sexes and that this is a major theme in the tale: but the present study shows that there were some readers who thought so about the text we used. On the other hand we must - with due caution - take note of the fact that many readers considered e.g. Pot fairly Danish, and Tiger non-Danish, when these tales are to represent Turkish and Danish tales respectively. And it is also important that many readers considered Allerleirauh muddled, repulsive, inconsistent: we are warned about potential patterns of response and whose implications must be taken into consideration.

Since we had also made the readers study three tales, we had also made them compare the tales: the responses we got on any tale were thus, sometimes in elusive ways, influenced by the experiences the readers have had of the other tales: even if the readers had not read the tales before the classroom session where they wrote their answers, the responses were not truly spontaneous responses to each tale: the individual reader undoubtedly often focussed on the fairytale in which (s)he found a given element/theme etc. most obvious. And this implied that a certain degree of arbitrariness was involved. To take only one example: arguably "the transition from childhood to adulthood" is a major theme in Father, Keloglan, Girl, Prince, and Musk - but it was mentioned spontaneously only twice (p. 32, Prince, Girl (129)). Conversely, the method of categorization meant that one reader who insisted on answering several questions in the same vein did make one idea/theme

stand out more than it really did in the spontaneous responses as a whole, as when 5 argued that Keloglan is a freedom fighter, or 14 insisted that Pot is about recycling.

The fact that the readers compared the tales in the three groups was evident in many cases, e.g. when they gave their preferences or made erroneous statements (see p. 54 above).

At the same time, the study has dealt with responses by individual readers, and even the legitimate ones may differ radically. On page 42, we thus see hat as far as Musk is concerned, some found it easy to understand, while one reader found it difficult; that the tale had the right number of repetitions - as well as too many; and was suspenseful - or going on for ever and ever.

Given all these limitations, we did nevertheless, get solid documentation of what tales elicited facetted responses, and can confidently use them for selecting the tales we should use in the future, and on which we then get "clear" responses which are not affected by concurrent responses to other tales.

Finally, it must be stressed that the fact that the responses were not quite immediate, points forward to the time when critical thinking should be introduced in the experimental set-up: Virtually all the criticism to be taken into account is based not on immediate spontaneous responses to given works of literature, but on a high degree of abstraction which is a far remove from the immediate experience.

## IV.3 Directives

In addition to the above-mentioned facts there are other things which have affected the responses.

### IV.3.1 Pre-reading instructions

The pre-reading instruction did not seem to have affected the responses, which is hardly surprising since it contains no indication of what questions would be asked.

### IV.3.2 Discussions

Cribbing has been commented on above (see p. 5).

According to the answers given to question 5, virtually all discussions have been fairly superficial. The best documentation is found in class F where 4 readers (227, 228, 229, 233) who had discussed the tales, also agreed that Musk was best (see pp. 38 and 40). A close inspection of their arguments, however, shows that there were still major differences, and that agreement was only found (in part) in the statements that it was the most fairytale-like (228, 233), that the ordeals were interesting (228, 229 - but with different phrasing), and the plot suspenseful (229, 233 - with different phrasing).

In another instance, 127 stressed at question 5 that the others had also agreed that the tales were difficult to understand - but this was not borne out by the other protocols in the same class (class D).

When we add the examples found on pp. 36 (2) and 38, the discussions thus made some points stick with some readers (viz. about 5 out of the total 2,000), but had no momentous influence

on the individual responses. This tallies with what Gunnar Hansson has found several times (e.g. in Dikten och läsaren, 1959), viz. that responses are rarely changed radically by discussions after the reading, especially not so if the discussions are unstructured.

### IV.3.3 Class variables

Class variables are, at best, elusive, and it is virtually impossible to be sure that we are not dealing with sheer coincidence.

Even though class B asked questions about "symbolic" (see p. 7), the number of readers who actually had problems in answering the questions was not significantly higher than in other classes.

There was a class- or teaching-variable in class D, where three readers referred to "actant-models". This may have been prompted by their idea that we were to discuss the tales in class (see p. 23), but they are referred to in different places, viz. on Girl (p. 25 (134)), Prince (p. 26 (120)), and on all tales (p. 33 (132)): The reason was that in class they had discussed the well-known ballad of "Germand Gladensvend" which has a fairytale embedded in it - and "actant-models" had been used on that occasion.

Class E, doing outside/common tales, wrote much longer protocols than the other classes. It is tempting to ascribe this to the universal character of the tales, at least to some extent: i.e. they may perhaps appeal more to listeners/readers than more national tales. But another (or perhaps contributory) reason may be that the school, Skt. Annæ, specialises in music, and that there is some kind of connection between interest for "the arts" in general, and the ability/willingness to express oneself on literature.

### IV.3.4 The questions

The questions linked directly on to the experience of the text. Accordingly, it is difficult - when we are speaking about directives - to differentiate them from the responses.

They have served their purpose, even though it is obvious that especially questions 3 and 4 appear to have taken some readers aback - which is hardly surprising as symbols and "deeper meanings" are usually discussed in class, rather than in terms of individual experiences, in Danish schools if no written task has been set in advance.

The directive force was evident in the breakdowns, where elements (and to a lesser degree plot) as well as formal features came to the fore in the answers to the first two questions, and deeper layers were more evident in the answers to the two following ones where there were also more generalised comments.

### IV.3.5 The textual directives

For the purpose of the present selection study, it is sufficient to point to those which have implications for future work.

### IV.3.5 Genre expectations

The most striking feature was that Danish readers apparently expect fairytales to conform with some fairly strict patterns that they feel are present in the popular tales by Andersen and the Grimm brothers. Of course, this is connected with the non-existence of a living tradition for oral tales, and with the fact that the oral tales which the "gymnasiaster" read, tend to be polished and edited. Cruelty and what they consider vulgarity are clearly non-consistent with their conception of the fairytale genre.

The other feature - and here it links up with the question asked - was that many of the answers, especially on preference, were connected not so much with the enjoyment as with the tales' conformity or lack of conformity with what the reader considered "a good fairytale". This may have been affected by the phrasing of question 1, in so far as it did not repeat the injunction that the readers should give us their own views. But at all events, it means that answers given to the question about which fairytale they liked best, are somewhat suspect. And the breakdown on the answers to the question about symbolic meaning etc. shows clearly that there is no organic or obvious relationship between preference and a multifacetted experience.

#### IV.3.5.1 The surface features

Whereas the deeper layers are part of what we want to check according to the project's working hypothesis (Report No. 1, 1-3), some of the surface features must be re-considered in setting up the definitive versions of the texts. As for names setting, etc. they were used by readers for ascertaining whether the tales were foreign or Danish, for their preferences, and - most of all - for finding out if they were fairytales. Even though such surface features must be considered part of the "nature" of the specific tale, it is obviously necessary to keep check on them, to determine directive/associative effects which they may bring about with the readers in either country.

Another type of surface feature is somewhat more problematic, and concerns the things whose effect is somehow or other disruptive to the experience, as when some readers objected to e.g. the crap and the smoking of cigarettes in Father, the arse in Girl, etc. Since we know that the narrators of oral tales are influenced by their audience (Report 3,3), there is no reason why such potentially disruptive surface features which have been identified by readers in the selection study, should not be substituted by others which we expect to have a less devastating effect on the whole investigation.

## V.0 THE DANISH LIST OF PRIORITIES

The purpose of the present study was to select the tale in each group which evoked the most facetted response with Danish readers, and to set up a list of priorities among them.

### V.1 The Turkish tales

Pot was regarded as a typical fairytale which took place in a non-descript place (all the alien features were surface features (e.g. sultan)). The symbols and the themes suggested by the

readers were simplistic, viz. that poor people get rich, possibly with the implicit moral that one has to work a bit even to be lucky. And there were also slight indications that some readers saw a social conflict. The tale was not controversial, but did not evoke a very facetted response either. Since it was connected intimately with the fairytale genre by Danes who have been fostered on Hans Andersen, and fairly indifferent in terms of social norms, it is hard to accept the tale as the representative tale from another country/culture.

In our assessment, the tale is the least suited for the purposes of the project. It will not make it possible to go beyond the most inane and trivial questions in the responses.

Keloglan was looked upon as both funny and as brutal. Some readers noted that it had fairytale elements, e.g. the hero and the ordeals. The plot called for little comment The tale was recognised as being exotic by means of some surface features. As for symbols most were at the surface level, with the exception of one interpretation, which, albeit legitimate, would probably appear far-fetched to most readers. The themes were fairly few, centering on the active hero, the battle of wits, and the overcoming of ordeals. There was no real emergence of norms at a deeper level.

Keloglan may, however, be used if the Turkish response on this tale is vastly better than that on Father.

Father was the fairytale which interested most readers - possibly because of the proprepondérence of girls among the readers; but since we were not making a statistical analysis, this feature, as well as the idea that it is about sex roles, may turn out not to go down with equally many readers later on. It was not rejected by any readers - except for the accusation that it was boring. It was, at a time, looked upon as a story which was realistic and as a fairytale, the latter with a typical, active hero (a girl) who underwent the traditional ordeals. The tale was the only one whose plot was considered worthy of note by several readers. And the themes offered a fairly good coverage of some which are universal: love, the battle of wits, the underdog making good - as well as some which are both universal, and relevant to present-day life: the role of, and the conflict between, the sexes: It really tests out deep-rooted communal norms.

Father is accordingly by far our first choice in Denmark.

## V.2 The Danish tales

The directive force of the surface features seemed to be even stronger in the Danish tales than in the Turkish ones, leading to objections that the language is blunt, and the tales perverted.

The number of illegitimate statements was lower, and there were fewer negative statements than in the protocols on the Turkish tales.

The Danish tales, however, do not lead up to an equally obvious listing:

Prince was regarded or accepted as a fairytale, although it was untraditional, alien and exotic, with both typical fairytale elements (the figure of three, the helper, etc.), and with some very strange actions (eating children etc.). The plot was

good. The symbols were interpreted mostly in isolation. The themes were fairly facetted: good vs. evil, forgiveness, fertility (or infertility), the process of going from childhood to adulthood, and class differences with a conflict between the older and the younger generations. Nonetheless, it must weigh heavily against Prince that the vast majority of the readers (a total of 21), spontaneously considered it the least Danish and most exotic fairytale: it is not a Danish fairytale which is accepted as such by a Danish audience. Accordingly Prince is the least suited for our purposes.

Per was the least fairytale-like tale, but struck the readers as humorous, and very realistic with a typical Danish setting. The protagonist aroused sympathy with some. Its plot was good, and the themes covered questions of rule, justice, adultery, forgiveness, punishment, and morals.

Girl was more of a typical fairytale with fairytale elements (e.g. the tasks), and the plot was also referred to. The themes were facetted: good vs. evil; innocence and purity installed in its right place on the top; help which was rewarded; the transition from childhood to adulthood, and social climbing.

Per and Girl must be considered more or less on a par with Danish readers: Per seems to cover plot and character better, but Girl appeals to more themes. Girl is more of a fairytale, while Per is more realistic and Danish.

From the point of view of the working hypothesis of the project, it is also difficult to give priority to either of the tales: Girl covers more themes, but Per goes down into communal norms.

The choice of either of these two tales must, accordingly, depend on the outcome of the Turkish selection study.

## V.3 The outside/common tales

It was noteworthy that the distribution of readers was fairly even when they discussed the Danish vs. the exotic nature of the three tales (p. 44). This indicates that the original selection of these tales was justified.

It was also interesting that the readers did not refer to style, narration etc. to the same extent as they did with the Turkish and Danish tales. This lends some support to the caution on p. 10 above that some comments on these features are prompted by the loose terminology in this area in Danish.

Compared to the tales in the "Turkish" and "Danish" groups there was one appreciable difference: one of the tales, Snake, was not a fairytale properly speaking. On the other hand, it answered the conditions set for the outside/common stories (Report 5, 5-6), viz. that there should be a Turkish as well as a Danish version of it (see Report 7, Chapter VI.5.1).

Allerlei-rauh is easily the most unsuitable for our purposes: it evoked a strongly negative response with most readers, not only in terms of theme (incest), but also motivation (all the 'whys' about the action). Perhaps the greatest objection was that the girl's ordeals were self-inflicted. It can be noted, though, that the original variant from the Grimm collection is vastly inferior to both the Turkish and the Danish versions of the fairytale.

Musk was clearly the most fairytale like story; it was humorous, and its plot aroused interest. The characters were a bit more complex than usual, and some of the many typical fairytale elements strange. The themes were fairly facetted: good versus evil; undergoing ordeals; goodness rewarded; and girls' attitudes to marriage (with some undertones of norms).

Snake was recognised as a fable by the readers, not a fairytale. Here, too, the characters were a bit complex, but the themes were the most facetted in any of the tales in the selection study, even when allowance was made for proximity between many of the themes listed, covering questions about keeping promises; gratitude; betrayal; trustworthiness; suppression; exploitation; the real nature of things, etc. with a thorough representation of norms.

Accordingly, Snake seems to be the best choice in this group, although Musk is not a bad alternative.

APPENDIX I

FLG. INSTRUKTION BEDES LÆST OP

I får her 3 æventyr. Cay Dollerup vil bede jer om at læse disse æventyr grundigt, og næste fredag vil han så selv komme og bede jer besvare nogle få spørgsmål om disse æventyr skriftligt i timen.
Han understreger, at der ikke er tale om en prøve. Der er ikke tale om at I skal komme frem til nogle bestemte løsninger, men han er især interesseret I jeres personlige mening. Og det er for at få dækket den så godt som muligt, han beder jer læse æventyrene omhyggeligt.
Det hele er anonymt. Og da han skal bruge teksterne senerehen, vil han også gerne have teksterne igen.
De sidste 5-10 minutter af timen næste fredag vil Cay Dollerup bruge på at fortælle jer, hvad formålet er, og I vil også få den korte tilbagemelding på hvad han har fået ud af jeres besvarelser.

marts 1980 (Fairytale)

APPENDIX 2

Først og fremmest tak fordi du vil være med.
Nedenfor kommer de fem spørgsmål, som jeg vil bede dig svare på.
De sidste 5-10 minutter af timen bruger jeg til at fortælle om baggrunden for dem. Men jeg vil bede dig disponere tiden, så du får svaret på dem alle.
Det vil lette mit arbejde meget hvis du vil skrive tydeligt, med bred margin, og du går over til en ny side hver gang du begynder at besvare et nyt spørgsmål (skriv nummeret på spørgsmålet i øverste venstre hjørne).
Du skal ikke bekymre dig om at skrive meget fint: så længe det bare er læseligt er det nok for mig.
Og så vil jeg understrege, at det jeg er interesseret i er din personlige mening - ligegyldigt hvad den er.
Hvis der er spørgsmål kan du bare stille dem - som sagt er der ikke tale om nogen prøve.

SPØRGSMÅLENE

1. Hvilket af de tre eventyr var bedst ?
   Hvorfor?

2. Hvilket eventyr syntes du var mest dansk eller fremmedartet ?
   Hvordan det ?

3. Er eventyrene eller ting i dem symbolske ?
   I givet fald - på hvilken made ?

4. Har et eller flere af dem nogen "dybere mening" ( du skal ikke bruge tid på at forklare hvad du opfatter som "dybere mening")?
   I givet fald - hvilken ?

5. Har du snakket med andre om eventyrene ?
   Hvis ja ville jeg være taknemmelig for at du fortalte om du havde ændret mening på nogen punkter, og hvilke det var.

Når du er færdig, vil jeg bede dig lægge eventyrteksterne og dine svar i samme bunke.

Med venlig hilsen

Cay Dollerup

## APPENDIX 1 and 2 translated

When the stories were handed out (THIS INSTRUCTION WAS ONLY READ OUT)

You are now going to get 3 fairytales. Cay Dollerup/We ask you to read these fairytales carefully, and next ... [exact date given]... he/I will then come and ask you to answer a few questions in writing in class about these fairytales.
He emphasises/I want to emphasise that this is no test. You are not to come up with some specifically correct solutions, but he is/we are particularly interested in your own personal opinion. And it is in order to have it [i.e. your opinion] described as well as possible you are asked to read the fairytales carefully.
The whole thing is anonymous. And since he/we must use the texts later on, he/we would be happy to get back the texts.
The last 5-10 minutes in class will be used by Cay Dollerup/me to tell you what the purpose is, and, in addition, you will also get the brief feedback on what he has been able to deduce from your answers.

---

When the pupils were to write their answers (THIS WAS HANDED OUT TO EVERYBODY)

In the first place: thank you for your cooperation.
Below are the five questions which I ask you to answer.
I shall use the last 5 to 10 minutes of class to tell you about their purpose and background. But I ask you to use your time so that you answer all of them.
You will facilitate my work considerably if you will please write legibly, with a wide margin, and by turning to a new page every time you begin to answer a new question (write the number of the question in the upper left hand corner).
Do not worry about about your handwriting: as long as it is legible, it will suffice for me.
And then I want to stress that it is <u>your</u> personal opinion I am interested in - no matter what it is.
If you have got any questions please go ahead and ask them - as I have mentioned it this is no test.

The questions

1. Which of the three fairytales was best ?
   Why?
2. Which fairytale did you find most Danish or alien ?
   In what way ?
3. Are the fairytales or elements in them symbolic ?
   If so - in what way ?
4. Do one of or more of them have any "deeper meaning" (don't spend your time explaining what you understand by a "deeper meaning") ?
   If so - what one ?
5. Have you talked with others about the fairytales ?
   If so, I should be grateful if you would tell if you had changed your mind on any points, and what they were.

When you are finished, you should please put the texts and your answers together.

Yours sincerely
Cay D.
Cay Dollerup



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